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LETTER

FROM THE

REV. J. MITCHELL,

RELATIVE TO

COLONIZATION.

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## RESOLUTIONS.

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*Resolved*, That the Rev. J. Mitchell, agent of the American Colonization Society, be respectfully requested to furnish to this house, at his earliest convenience, answers to the following questions, viz:

1st. Should the state of Illinois determine to establish a settlement on the coast of Africa for the accommodation of the colored people, where will be the best point which his judgment would indicate from all the information in his possession for the establishment of such settlement?

2d. What will be the probable cost of procuring an extent of territory sufficient for that purpose? Its location, health, fertility, natural production, and other inducements for such a settlement?

3d. What is the character of the soil of Liberia, nature of the climate, character of the inhabitants and government.

4th. What are the reasons for stimulating emigration to Liberia?

5th. How much does it cost to transport emigrants to Liberia?

6th. What is the number of the colored people in Illinois, and the probability of prevailing upon them to emigrate, or to what extent, and other suggestions he may see fit to make in relation to the subject of colonization.

*Resolved*, That the secretary be requested to furnish Mr. Mitchell with a copy of the foregoing as soon as possible.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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SPRINGFIELD, Ill., January 4, 1855.

HON. T. J. TURNER, *Speaker of the House of Representatives  
of the General Assembly of the state of Illinois :*

SIR :—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution of inquiry, in relation to the subject of African colonization, which was adopted by your branch of the general assembly on the 3d inst.

And I herewith respectfully submit an answer thereto.

Yours with great respect.

J. MITCHELL,  
*Agent Colonization Society.*

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SPRINGFIELD, January 3d, 1855.

*To the Hon. Speaker and members of the House of Representatives of  
the state of Illinois :*

GENTLEMEN :—I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your resolution of inquiry, in relation to African colonization, communicated by your clerk, and with great pleasure I will attempt an answer to the points found therein.

1st. You desire to know the *proper point on the African coast*, to which the attention of your people might be directed, as a location for a new settlement for the benefit of your free people of color, who may be disposed to emigrate to Africa.

In answer to this we will say that in my opinion Grand Cape Mount, and the adjoining country, is the most desirable point on which our western states can expend their labor and attention, in the work of planting settlements.

This is one of the most prominent points on that coast; the country around is high and rolling, and remarkably well watered, being like-



wise very fertile. Cape Mount is a bold head land, rising gradually to an elevation of 1,060 feet above the level of the sea; those high lands are covered with a heavy forest. Within a few miles of the cape the Passou, or Cape Mount river, discharges itself into a small bay, formed by the projection of Cape Mount on the south and Manna point, eight miles above on the north; into this bay another river, the Sugury, flows. These streams are not of the first class, but they are navigable for boats some distance from the mouth.

The most western point of this cape is in latitude 6 deg. 44 min. 25 sec. north, and in 11 deg. 23 min. 16 sec. west longitude, and it is about 50 miles west north-west of Monrovia the capital of the republic of Liberia.

Grand Cape Mount is generally the first point of land that meets the eye of our emigrants as they approach the African coast, on their voyage to Liberia, and from its northern location and natural advantages, it must become one of the most important commercial points in Liberia. Indeed it has always been a place somewhat noted for trade, and thousands of dollars have changed hands annually at that point; it being a few years ago a notorious and successful slave mart costing the United States, England, and France much trouble to watch it.

Of this country, J. N. Lewis, then secretary of state for Liberia, writes in the following strong terms:—"Should we ever succeed in making a purchase of that country, it will be at a very dear rate; the people are far more intelligent than any of the tribes within our jurisdiction; their state of living is very expensive, and I am quite certain that they would charge \$5,000 at least for it—and so it will be for any of the territories lying between it and the Sherbro river," (which borders the English settlement on the south;) "we cannot say how far it extends into the interior, it is a very large and beautiful country, and I presume the people near the sea will say that it extends back a great distance."

A few years ago President Roberts negotiated with native chiefs for this country, and secured the jurisdiction of all the lands in the vicinity of the cape.

Of the above location President Roberts thus writes to us:—"There are several locations within our jurisdiction between this place and Sierra Leone for settlements, and may be occupied at the shortest notice. I would recommend Grand Cape Mount, which is a fertile and well watered country, and possesses many inducements or natural advantages to new emigrants, and the natives are exceedingly anxious to have an American settlement near them."

Mr. J. Ashmon represents the inhabitants of this country as superior to their southern neighbors "in intellectual endowments, urbanity of manners, profound dissimulation," and because of "their profession of the Mohamedan faith, they being the dividing tribe between Mohamedan and Pagan Africa; he represents them as remarkable for sobriety, perseverance, activity and avarice, and likewise for extreme jealousy of the interference of strangers, either in their trade or in their territorial jurisdiction, or their civil affairs." The name b



which this tribe is known is the Fey or Vey nation, and their number is about ten or fifteen thousand. A nation called the Day tribe occupies the territory between Cape Mount and Monrovia, who are far inferior to the Veys in every respect; they are a Pagan tribe about ten thousand in number.

In the time of Ashmon the trade of Cape Mount and country adjoining was stated at "*fifty thousand dollars.*"

In addition to the above, we will quote an extract from the report of Rev. J. McKay, the colored agent of the Indiana State Board of Colonization, who visited Liberia last year, and spent *eighty-three days* in that country, and on his return, his report was published by that board. He says—"The cape and country adjoining appeared to me the most beautiful scene I ever beheld. Like many others I had regarded that country as a barren and desolate waste, but I found myself much mistaken on this point, as the whole country was covered with a heavy forest of fine trees, of great variety and excellent quality for timber, springing up from a soil of great fertility."

2d. The cost of territory at Grand Cape Mount, is a matter that must be determined by correspondence with the authorities of Liberia, as that country has passed into their hands.

However, we have no doubt but lands can be procured on the most reasonable terms. The following extract of a letter addressed by President Roberts to the Indiana State Board of Colonization on this subject, may not be out of place :

"The government of Liberia will readily allot a section of land in the Grand Cape Mount district, for the location of emigrants from the state of Indiana; and will assign to such emigrants town or farm lots, under existing regulations of this government; which may be increased in quantity, at the pleasure of the Indiana board, by purchase from the government at the established rates for public lands, or at prices agreed on between this government and the Indiana board, and the title from the government vested immediately in the citizen emigrant.

"I have now, sir, only to add—waiving the proposition for a grant of land—that the government of Liberia will be most happy to co-operate with the Indiana State Colonization Board, in any measures it may think proper to adopt for carrying out its benevolent objects, in reference to securing a home in Liberia for the colored people of that state."

No doubt the same line of policy will be pursued, should you apply for a portion of those lands—and it is likely the price will be nominal.

3d. The third point—the *fertility* of the country around Cape Mount—has been fully answered in the above communications of Roberts, Lewis, and McKay, who all concur in representing it as a delightful and desirable country.

4th. On their evidence, likewise, we must believe it to be a *healthy region*; and the fact that the native tribes who formerly owned the country, were the most warlike, robust, and intelligent of all tribes on that coast, is strong proof that the climate at that point is congenial to human life, health, and vigor of mind.



5th. The next point presented is the character of the *soil of Liberia*. Liberia, extending as it does, about 700 miles along the coast, from the southern limit of Sierra Leone, to the southern limit of the Cape Palmas, or Maryland colony, must needs embrace quite a variety of soil, differing in appearance, quality, and productiveness.

That of the uplands, though generally much inferior to that of the lowlands, is better adapted for some articles. The upland soil usually consists of a reddish clay, more or less mixed with soft rocks and stones, containing considerable quantities of iron. There are three kinds of lowland soil, one of which is that on the banks of the rivers, within a few miles of the sea; this consists of a loose, deep, black mould, which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of those kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. Another variety is that which is generally found extending back from the banks of the river, further from the sea than the first named; it consists of a light clay, more or less tempered with sand, and is well adapted to almost every kind of vegetables which thrive in tropical climates. The third quality is that of the lowlands, in the immediate vicinity of the ocean, consisting principally of sand, and it is really astonishing to perceive how well many vegetables will grow in this kind of soil, even within fifty yards of the ocean in some places."

The above remarks are drawn from a series of articles, published a short time past by Dr. J. W. Lugenbell, who for many years was the principal physician in Liberia, and likewise acted as American agent for the care of re-captured Africans. His statements on those points are founded on careful and long observation.

In addition to these remarks, we will give an extract from a communication of Mr. Ashmun, one of the first agents of the colonization society, who spent many years in Liberia, and was the principal instrument, under a wise Providence, in giving stability to the foundations of the colony. The communication referred to, is a manual called the *Liberia Farmer, or Colonist's Guide*, addressed to the colonists, the truthfulness of which has never been questioned. He says :

"The soil of Liberia depends for its quality much on the situation of the lands. The uplands have two varieties of soil. The first is that strong and deep mould which is always found where the hard, brown granite rocks are most numerous. This soil is certainly very capable of being turned to a very profitable account. Observe everywhere in the beds of those rocks, the thrifty and strong growth of timber. The largest trees are commonly found in such situations. This is, however, a wet season soil, and must not be expected to give you a crop in the dry months. I shall call this the strong upland soil.

"The other species of upland soil is of a much inferior quality. It consists of a reddish, clayey earth, everywhere more or less mixed with soft, rust-colored rocks, stone and gravel. The red color of the soil and rocks is caused by the rust of the iron particles mixed with it. Manure may in time render it productive; but the best mode yet discovered to fertilize this soil is to burn over the surface in clearing



the land, and to spread small quantities of ashes or lime over it, after the first crop. I shall distinguish this as *the weak upland soil*.

“There are three sorts of lowland soil. The first and richest is that formed on the sides of the rivers, and from the wash of the uplands it is always wet during the rains, and consists of a loose, deep, black mould, and is entirely free from rocks and gravel. This soil will produce any crop which you choose to plant, but is especially adapted to early rice, and to all those vegetables which thrive in dry seasons. I shall call this *the black lowland soil*.

“The second variety of soil in the bottom land I shall name *the stiff clayey soil*. It consists of a lightish colored clay, sometimes a little tempered with coarse sand. It is the subject of the extremes of wet and drought, but produces good crops, and may be much improved by manuring.

“*The sandy soil* is the third variety found in the level country. It is most prevalent wherever the land has, in course of time, gained upon the ocean or channels of rivers. It is a light, warm soil, and will yield only slender crops without manure. Sweet potatoes, beans, cassada, and succulent fruit trees will succeed best in it.”

In another part of the manual on agriculture, from which the above is taken, Mr. Ashmun thus addresses the colonists :

“The flat lands around you, and particularly your farms, have as good a soil as can be met with in any country. They will produce two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables in the year. They will yield a larger crop than the best soils in America, and they will produce a number of very valuable articles, for which, in the United States, millions of money are every year paid away to foreigners. One acre of rich land, well tilled, will produce you three hundred dollars’ worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow root. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce you a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees will clothe your whole family, and, except a little hoeing, your wife and children can perform the whole labor of cropping and manufacturing it. One acre of cane will make you independent of all the world for the sugar you use in your family. One acre set with fruit trees and well attended, will furnish you the year round with more plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, guavas, pawpaws and pineapples than you will ever gather. Nine months of the year you may grow fresh vegetables every month, and some of you who have lowland plantations may do so throughout the year.”

The general correctness of the above remarks is thus indorsed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who was sent out by President Taylor to obtain information in regard to Liberia. After quoting, in his report, the above paragraph, he says :

“My observations on the banks of the rivers of the republic, (especially the St. Paul’s, the St. John’s, and the Sinou,) along both sides of Stockton creek, and among the gardens of Monrovia, and the plantations in its vicinity, confirmed my belief in the general correctness of this statement.”



6. Your next inquiry relates to the *natural productions of Liberia*. We will answer this, partly by quoting the language of Dr. Lugubell, and partly that of Ashmun :

“Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots and fruits which are peculiar to inter-tropical climates thrive well in Liberia ; and many garden vegetables which belong more properly to temperate climates may be raised, in quality not much inferior to the same kind of articles produced in climates peculiarly adapted to their growth. But the principal articles of produce, and which are destined to be the great staples of that country, are rice, cotton, sugar and coffee ; to which must be added “corn, cassada, yams, sweet potatoes, arrow root, Lima and other beans, peas, cabbages, turnips, beets, carrots, tomatoes, cymlings, chiota, ochra, cucumbers, many varieties of pepper, ground nuts, palma christi, the india rubber tree, the croton oil tree, and the palm tree, and among their fruits the Liberians number the orange, lemon, limes, guava, pine apple, plantain, banana, tamarinds, rose apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa nuts, pawpaws, mango plums, alligator pears, patango, bread fruit, arellous, and various valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these have I myself seen growing luxuriantly in the gardens and farms of the republic.

“According to the late Mr. Buxton, whose researches on the subject of the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa were very accurate and extensive, of dye-woods there are an abundance, yielding carmine, crimson, red, brown, brilliant yellow and blue ; of gums there are copal, senegal, mastic and sudan or Turkey gum. The she or butternut is hardly less valuable than the palm nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the butter made from it superior to that made from cow’s milk.

“No country in the world is more amply enriched than this is with the chief productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The ground nut yields a pure golden colored oil of a pleasant taste, and has been sold as high as £50 per ton, (about \$240.) The castor nut grows wild on the banks of the Gambia and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and high-flavored ; it yields about sixty for one, and the people only want method for preparing it for the European market.

“The woods of this continent are extremely valuable. Travelers enumerate not less than forty species of timber, which grow in vast abundance, and are easily obtained, such as mahogany, lignumvitæ, rose wood, &c., &c.

“With few considerable exceptions the whole line of coast in Western Africa accessible to trading vessels, presents immense tracts of lands of the most fertile character, which only require the hand of industry and commercial enterprise to turn into inexhaustible mines of wealth.”—*Gurley’s Report*.

The rivers of Liberia are the St. Paul’s, St. John’s, the Junk river, Half Cape Mount, Mechlin, the New Cess, the Grand Cess, the Sanguen, the Sinon ; and in the new purchase there is the Gallinas, Soly-



man, Manna, Sugury and Grand Cape Mount river ; to which we may add the Shebar. The rivers of Liberia are not very large, although some of them are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, for fifty miles or more from their entrance into the ocean.

A graphic description of the general aspect of the country is given in the following language, by Rev. J. Day, the superintendent of the Southern Baptist Mission, who resides in Bexley, on the St. John's, and who has explored the interior for seventy or seventy-five miles :

“From seven to twenty miles the country is beautifully undulating, and interspersed with the most lovely rills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and scolding among the rocks, presenting a thousand mill seats. The air in that region is salubrious and bracing, the soil deep and rich, covered with a forest which, for the height and size of the trees, I have never seen equalled. From twenty to thirty miles is a region of small mountains, of from three to five hundred feet in elevation. These mountains are covered with a rich forest, and may be cultivated. I have stood on the summit of one of them cultivated to the top, and thence beheld a delightful prospect. Beyond these hills, or mountains, as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the extent of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are loftier mountains, which it will require a whole day to ascend, and very steep. If this is the case, the country I speak of is a valley. The soil of the whole distance is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of disease is no more apparent than in level regions in America. If our people want health, they may as surely obtain it in the mountainous region as by trans-Atlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, on preaching tours, of two or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweetly there, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant than in the marshy region bordering on the sea. The natives are more industrious, honest, happy and hopeful every way in that region. To thousands in that forest-clad region have I preached, while they were as attentive even as congregations in America.

“The principal domestic animals in Liberia are cows or black cattle, sheep, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks and chickens. Horses are plentiful in the interior, within three hundred miles of the coast, but they do not thrive well in the settlements, in consequence, principally, of the want of proper management.”

7. *The climate* is congenial to those who inhabit that country, and there is nothing essentially destructive to life or health therein, but the general testimony is that the native tribes and those American settlers who have been acclimated, enjoy good health.

Mr. Gurley, in his report, says : “From my own experience of two months on the coast of Liberia, I may be allowed to say that my impressions of the African climate are more favorable than those I had derived from books ; for although our arrival occurred during the latter portion of what is called the rainy season, and we continued on the coast during most of the transition period from that to the dry season, the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were



seldom deterred for an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion,

“No one can look upon the athletic, finely proportioned and developed forms of native Africans, or upon a congregation of the inhabitants of Monrovia, or of the other towns and villages of the Liberian Republic, and retain the idea that health cannot be enjoyed on the African coast. The general aspect of the people of Liberia is healthy, and I am convinced, from much observation and many inquiries, that the dangers of the climate to colored emigrants are becoming less and less formidable, and that they will, to a good degree, be averted by the cultivation of the soil, an appropriate regimen, and increased medical experience and skill.”

To the above we will add the testimony of Dr. Lugenbell :

“On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia decidedly pleasant, notwithstanding the scorching rays of the tropical sun, and the ‘abundance of rain’ which falls during the months of June, July, September and October. So far as the pleasantness of the climate and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia to one in any part of the United States.

“The extreme of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65 degrees and 90 degrees. I have never heard of the mercury in a good thermometer having sunk below the former, nor arisen above the latter point in the shade. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, may be set down at about 76 degrees, and during the dry season at 84 degrees. . The mean temperature for the year is about 80 degrees.”

From these figures it will be seen that the heat of Liberia is not excessive, nor is it as great as in some points in the south of our own country, where the thermometer frequently stands as high as 90 deg.; add to this the fact that cold winters, cold nights, and the cold and snow of this country are unknown there, and we will be able to comprehend the reason why those who have visited Liberia consider the climate desirable.

8. As to the *character of the inhabitants* of a country, we generally form a correct opinion by examining their institutions; and if we are thus to judge the Liberians, we must form a high opinion of them; for their institutions, so far as formed, are of the most liberal and enlightened character, and the people themselves have made a very favorable impression on the minds of those who have visited them. In evidence of which I will quote a few extracts :

“They (the colonists) considered that they had started into new existence, felt proud of their attitude, and seemed conscious that while they were founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers. I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the importance of education, not only for their own children, but for those of the natives. That there are many vast sources yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can doubt; and that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprize and intelligence of the colonist, is equally unquestionable.”—*Capt. Kennedy, U. S. Navy.*



“Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane oath uttered by any one. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property.”—*Capt. Abels, Emigrant Ship.*

“The youth of the colonies discover an eager desire for improvement; and their progress, considering their opportunities, is almost incredible. Among the men of Monrovia there is a larger proportion of good accountants and elegant penmen, than in any town (American) of his acquaintance.”—*Gov. Buchanan.*

“The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. The complete success of this colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race; and that the melioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical.”—*A British Naval Officer.*

9. “*The Government of Liberia* is based on the principles of republicanism; and in every essential particular it may be regarded as a miniature representation of the government of the United States; the only particular point of difference being in the name of the national assembly, which is styled legislature instead of congress, and in the time of service of the principal officers of the government. The president is elected by the popular vote for two years, and he is eligible to re-election. The senators, of whom there are two from each county, are elected for four years, and the representatives are elected for two years. The only cabinet officers who have yet been commissioned are the secretary of state and of the treasury, and the attorney general. All the officers of justice are appointed by the president with the consent of the senate. The judicial power of the republic is vested in a supreme court, a court of quarter sessions in each county, and magistrate’s courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen.”—*Dr. Lugenbell.*

Such is the country, and such are the institutions of Liberia.

10. *The cost* of transporting emigrants and finding them in provisions for six months, will average about \$60 per emigrant. This has been considered all sufficient to provision them during the voyage, and give them a reasonable start in Liberia. But sound policy will dictate a liberal course in regard to such as go from this state.

11. The number of colored persons living in Illinois at this time is between five and six thousand. If these people, in connection with the colored people of Indiana, would remove to Liberia, they are sufficiently strong to lay the foundation of a new state of respectable size; and amongst them they can number some men of decided ability, who would control a republic much better than some of our French neighbors.



12. As to the number of colored persons in Illinois who would be willing to emigrate to Africa, we are unimformed. Indeed, we have not the acquaintance necessary to answer this point, in its special application to this state, but we can furnish a few points of general information in answer thereto.

We discover from several indications and signs, that there is an emigration movement now in agitation amongst the free people of color, not only in this state, but throughout all the free states, and the result of this agitation has created two parties amongst them. One, resolved to remain in the United States, and struggle for equal rights, civil and social, until success crowns their efforts. The other believes it unwise and impolitic thus to contend against the determination of the white race not to amalgamate with the black—and therefore have resolved to separate from them as soon as possible. The first named party held a convention in Rochester, N. Y., from which they have sent out an address to the American people, and at which they passed resolutions, in which we find the following sentiments:—"We ask that the doors of the school-house, the work-shop, the church, the college, shall be thrown open as freely to our children as to the children of other members of the community"—"that the complete and unrestricted right of suffrage, which is essential to the dignity even of the white man, be extended to the free colored man also." Such are a few of the sentiments of the first named party, which has been stirred into being by the growing disposition of the colored man to emigrate. They have formed a national council, consisting of two representatives from each state, "for the purpose of improving the character, and developing the intelligence, maintaining the rights and organizing a union of the colored people of the free states."

In opposition to this party, the second named is growing into form and taking position, and undoubtedly it will be the successful one in the end. Its great idea or principal is emigration, or a separation of the white and colored races. We find them using the following sentiments. One of their number thus writes: "We have a case that directly accords with our condition—that is, the Israelites in the land of Egypt. There is no doubt but that the land of Egypt would have sustained that people, and the Almighty could have changed the hearts of the rulers to have ceased to oppress them. But Divine Wisdom had another way to consummate His eternal purposes, and that was by emigration."

This party called a convention to meet in Cleveland, last August, to discuss the question of emigration. From that call we quote the following extract:

"The question is not whether our condition can be bettered by emigration, but whether it can be made worse. If not, then there is no part of the wide-spread universe where our social and political condition are not better than here in our native country, and nowhere in the world, as here, proscribed on account of color.

"We are friends to, and ever will stand shoulder to shoulder by our brethren and all true friends, in all good measures adopted by them for the bettering of our condition in this country, and surrender no



right but with our last breath ; but as the subject of emigration is of vital importance and has ever been shunned by all delegated assemblages of our people as heretofore met, we cannot longer delay, and will not be farther baffled ; and deny the right of our most sanguine friend or dearest brother, to prevent an intelligent inquiry into, and the carrying out of these measures, when this can be done to our entire advantage, as we propose to show in convention—as the West Indies, Central and South Africa—the majority of which are peopled by our brethren, or those identified with us in race, and what is more, destiny, on this continent—all stand with open arms and yearning hearts, importuning us in the name of suffering humanity to come, to make common cause, and share one common fate on the continent.

“The convention will meet without fail, at the time fixed for assembling, as none but those favorable to emigration are admissible ; therefore no other gathering may prevent it.

“We must make an issue, create an event, and establish a position for ourselves. It is glorious to think of, but far more glorious to carry out.”

That call was responded to, and a convention was held on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of August. The following are a few of the sentiments found in the published reports of its doings :

“The platform, or declaration of sentiments, sets forth things very much to the point—among them, that the colored people of the Union have been looking, hoping, and waiting in expectation of realizing the blessings of civil liberty, depending upon their ‘white fellow-countrymen’ to effect for them that desirable end, but in vain ; ‘instead of which they have met with disappointment, discouragement and degradation ;’ ‘that no people can have political liberty without the sovereign right to exercise a freeman’s will ;’ ‘that a people who are liable, under any pretext or circumstances whatever, to enslavement by the laws of a country, cannot be free in that country ;’ that, as a people, they will never be satisfied or contented until they are acknowledged ‘a necessary constituent in the ruling element of the country in which they live ;’ ‘that the liberty of a people is always insecure who have not absolute control over their own political destiny ;’ ‘that they shall ever cherish ‘their identity of origin and race, as preferable,’ in their estimation, ‘to that of any other people.’ ”

The “Report on the Political Destiny of the Colored Race,” after discussing quite elaborately the condition of that race, here and elsewhere, says : “Having glanced hastily at our political position in the world generally, and the United States in particular—the fundamental disadvantages under which we exist, and the improbability of ever attaining citizenship and equality of rights in this country—we call your attention next to the places of destination, to which we shall direct emigration. They desire it “distinctly to be understood—that in the selection of (their) places of destination—(they) do not advocate the southern scheme as a concession, nor yet at the will or desire of (their) North American oppressors, but as a policy by which (they) must be the greatest possible gainers, without the risk or possibility of loss to (themselves).” They say : “In no period since the



existence of the ancient enlightened nations of Africa, have the prospects of the black race been brighter than now." \* \* \* "We must take advantage of these favorable feelings, and strike out for ourselves a bold and manly course of independent action and position."

\* \* \* "Can we be satisfied—amid the advantages which now present themselves to us—with the degradation and servility inherited from our fathers in this country?" \* \* \* "A secondary position was all they asked for; we claim entire equality or nothing."

\* \* \* "No! neither is it true that the United States is the country best adapted to our improvement." \* \* \* "But that country is the best in which our manhood—morally, mentally and physically—can be best developed—in which we have an untrammelled right to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty." \* \* \*

"When the condition of the inhabitants of any country is fixed by legal grades of distinction, this condition can never be changed except by express legislation. And it is the height of folly to expect such express legislation, except by the force of some irresistible internal political pressure. The force necessary to this imperative demand on our part we can never obtain, because of our numerical feebleness."

\* \* \* "The rights of no oppressed people have ever yet been obtained by a voluntary act of justice on the part of the oppressors."

\* \* \* "Where, then, is our hope of success in this country? Upon what is it based? Upon what principle of political policy and sagacious discernment do our political leaders and acknowledged great men—colored men we mean—justify themselves in telling us—and insisting that we shall believe them, and submit to what they say—to be patient, remain where we are; that there is a 'bright prospect and glorious future before us in this country.'"

These extracts express the sentiment of the Cleveland colored convention faithfully, and the report inclines to favor the south—Central America and the West Indies; but "should any thing occur to prevent a successful emigration" thither, they have no hesitancy, rather than remain in the United States, should the Canadas still continue separate in their political relation from this country, to recommend to the great body of (their) people to remove to Canada West." The selection of a location, however, is left to commissioners to be chosen to visit and investigate for them.

This spirit of emancipation will not subside; for just in proportion to the increase of refinement and knowledge amongst the free people of color, just in the same ratio will the desire for independence increase; and if the moral improvement of the race is what it should be, a conflict of races will be avoided by a *peaceful* separation, as proposed in the above report.

In this light of the subject I have always advocated education for the colored man, not only as a just claim, but likewise as a means of stimulating separation—trusting that an all-wise Providence will accompany this just act with such an amount of moral influence on the hearts of the colored race, and will prompt them to wise and peaceful measures in the attainment of independence, which, according to the best light we now have, will be *a separation of the races*.



## THE POLITICAL ARGUMENT.

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In answering your fourth question, we will give but two general reasons for stimulating by liberal legislation the removal of the negro race from this republic to Liberia. *The political and the moral arguments.*

The first is comprehended in the *necessity, policy, and justice* of separating the white and colored races of this republic.

It must be admitted that a crisis has arrived in the history of this republic, which will force the question of the relation of the white and colored races therein, more on your attention than it has hitherto received. That man must be blind indeed who will deny the existence of such a crisis, and unworthy the position of an American statesman who will refuse to consider the dangers connected therewith. Long cherished purposes of abolitionism on the one hand, and equally formidable projects of slavery propagandism on the other, have produced sectional irritation and angry feelings, which from their age have become cronic; and now give their diseased and sickly tone to the whole legislation and policy of the federal government, and unfavorably affect, to a great extent, the local policy of each state in the confederacy; and likewise enters in some form into the qualifying test of all candidates for office.

What will be the end of this state of things? becomes a question of importance to political economists; whether they be statesmen in active service, or private citizens who, from their retired position, calmly observe the course of public events—and we trust that this question will receive at your hands, as the representatives of an important state, that grave consideration that its merits demand.

The *justice*, and *policy*, together with the *necessity*, of separating at some future time, the white and negro races of the United States; and the humanity, and wisdom of constructing at some proper point a negro republic—will be the point of this argument.

As an introduction we will state a few propositions, and amongst them we must rank that noted one, sometimes abused, but nevertheless worthy of the first place in the list—

All men are created free and equal.

A separate and independent subsistence for the great families or races of men, is clearly marked out by the Divine ruler.



Society is an ordinance of heaven, having for its object the happiness, prosperity, and peace of its members.

Governments are designed to guard the peace, prosperity and happiness of society, and to remove all political evils.

A homogeneous population is necessary to the existence of a sound republic.

Slaves and peasants, deprived of the right of citizenship, and suffering social degradation, are incompatible with the genius of republicanism.

The United States of North America should be a pure republic.

A family, and that collection of families which constitutes a republic, have the right beyond all organic law to say who shall, or who shall not, be received into their bosom and made members of their society.

The American people, in the exercise of this right, admitted the white race and rejected the black.

There is no political salvation for another race that comes in conflict with the European race, but in fusion with it. All others that conflict with it will be borne down by it.

No two races, kept distinct by the refusal of the stronger race to fuse with the weaker, can dwell together in the same country on terms of social equality.

The colored population of this country cannot be other than *a class of peasants*, if excluded from white society.

Where men are truly religious and moral, the white and black races of the United States do not mix—so the influence of religion will never effect a fusion, or destroy the right of choice in the parties.

A heterogeneous population, that will not amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent, restless, and revolutionary population.

The separation of the races, and the erection of the colored race into an independent and separate commonwealth, are the true and only remedies for the disabilities of the colored race.

Unfortunately for the United States, we have the elements of much national disturbance and social immorality among us, in the form of two incompatible races, whose interests must forever clash so long as they remain distinct races, and there is no likelihood that their present relation will change, or that they will become blended into one people.

However, the great mass of the colored race in this land are held as slaves, and with this relation of master and slave, the inhabitants of free states are pledged not to interfere—and we should sacredly observe our pledges—but whilst man thus sacredly keeps his promises to his fellow man, what may not Providence do with this institution. In the coming age of revolutions that must sweep over our globe with terrific and renovating power, it will be impossible for our country to escape the lightning's flash and thunder's stroke, with such a colossal attraction and conductor as the institution of American slavery in our midst, which rears its head amongst the gathering clouds that portend the coming storm. Oh, no! slavery will be modified by a series of providences before many years, and it is likely



that tens of thousands will be emancipated ; and in the course of a few ages all will be set free. But this act of emancipation, when consummated, will leave that large mass of our fellow-beings in a state of serfdom or social slavery. For white society will refuse to receive them into its bosom, or in other words, the white race will not amalgamate with the blacks. Therefore, the stronger must be the rulers still, and the weaker the servile ones.

A heterogeneous population, that *will not* amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent population, and civil war and bloodshed follow as a matter of course. This has been the past history of those nations which are cursed with a difference of race, and what has been true of other countries will be true of the United States, unless we apply a remedy to the evil that afflicts us.

With the opponents of the remedy of separation, we agree that "all men are created free and equal ;" but we cannot believe that it follows, as a consequence, that all men should inhabit the same state or territory, or dwell in the same city. But, on the contrary, we believe it to be in keeping with sound policy, and the morality of a peaceful religion which we profess as a nation, to apply the remedy of separation to conflicting families or races of men, whose interests are constantly clashing, and who cannot be reduced to a state of social equality. Such we believe to be the state of the white and colored races of the United States.

*Separation is a compromise for the sake of peace ;* to avoid the divisions of society into political factions, of which color would be the line ; to enable the colored man to enjoy uninterruptedly all the rights, and exercise the franchise of a freeman. Is not such a compromise right, if it can be effected ? Is it not justified by the spirit of christianity ? We think it right and just, and give as an illustration of this compromise the case of Abraham and Lot, who were the controllers of large households, and became the fathers of nations. On one occasion, their families, or rather their retainers and servants, quarreled about the right to the soil or domain ; and these two good men found it necessary to settle this quarrel by a compromise, and the result was, they separated their families and became the occupants of distant and different lands.

Nor will it do to put off the application of this remedy too long, for already the spirit of strife, from this very question of a difference of race, has commenced this cruel work of disorganization. Like a demon of great malignity he has entered the ecclesiastical and civil councils of the land, and sowed the seeds of strife there, and that seed is rapidly ripening, and has produced strife and disunion in many cases. Religious men, who were bound by the *strongest bonds*, have been rent asunder, and arrayed each other in a hostile attitude, and are now at war with such weapons as they dare to use. Whilst the statesmen of the land, and the great political bodies, are now surveying the field of future conflict ; calculating their strength ; choosing their positions ; and preparing for a war of more than words, and although a friend to "compromise," yet we fear that the elements of trouble are not removed by the compromise, nay we know they are



not removed—for as yet no practical remedy has been applied to slavery, the great root of the evil.

Nor will it do to say that the mere abolition of slavery will remove the evil—indeed it leaves the evil complained of untouched—for two distinct races will remain in the land to curse the country with their strife for social pre-eminence; and just in proportion as the light which has been withheld too long from the colored population is poured in upon them, in the same proportion will their demand for social equality become bold and threatening, until considering forbearance no longer a virtue, they will make their demand at the point of the sword. Soldiers may laugh at such a prospect, and glory in such sport as crushing the servile armies might afford. But men of peace love not such things, and deprecate such times, although afar off.

There are but two remedies for the evil, a *fusion of the races*, or a *total separation*. The application of the first remedy always depends on the choice of the stronger race. And the exercise of the choice for or against involves no moral quality, so that a refusal on the part of the white race to blend with the black cannot be considered a *sin*. And so long as the right of choice remains to man and is untouched by law, human or divine, so long white men, who are *honorable* and *virtuous* and fear God and regard his law, will choose white company to the rejection of black. Nor is this criminal in them. Nor can you compel the American people to act otherwise, unless you can show a clear law that will coerce to fusion.

Hence those who are resting their hopes on the future influence of the gospel, are cherishing a false hope. For the influence of the gospel is to make morals pure. And whenever *morals are pure* then the races never fuse, but the line between them is well defined. The white man being a dignified and upright *superior*, and the colored man being a moral and respectable inferior. Nor can the colored race escape from this inferiority in society; nor can those of us who would save him from it do so as long as he remains in contact with white men. The poor colored man is like the sickly tree that stands in the grove, he is overshadowed by a stronger race that shoots up to the heavens and spreads its branches to the light—casting a destructive shade on all below—a transplantation is the only salvation in either case.

The enthusiast may preach a different doctrine, and tell us that he makes no difference on account of color—he tells us that which is false, his actions and the company he keeps contradict his words, the companions of his children and associations of his domestic circle are standing witnesses against him. Compel him to choose between two young men of equal moral worth, equal talents and equality of wealth, but differing in color, one being white and the other black—compel him to choose one of the two for a kinsman, and his choice will fall on the white man, and because of color even he will make a difference.

So, unless we *choose*, the colored man cannot become our social equal. But the American people *do not choose* to make him a social equal, and there is no law that can compel them to do this. The consequence is the colored man must stand far below par because of his



color, and from this disability he can never escape ; he carries it with him wherever he goes, and colored men are compelled to take a secondary place in society and remain in a lower grade, which classification of citizens in grades is incompatible with the genius of this republic and will sap the foundation of democracy.

This being the unpleasant state of things in the United States, a peaceful separation of the races should be devised and carried out as soon as possible, for the good of both ; and upon this separation an independent commonwealth of colored people should be formed in which the colored race might be free from our dictation and control.

Many of the most intelligent and independent colored men of the northern states are now convinced that a peaceful separation of the races is the most religious way of disposing of this vexed question. Hence we find them advocating continental colonization.

It is clear to the calm observer that the colored race of North America have been in a state of pupillage amongst us, and our great crime is not the work of holding the colored man in bonds as an apprentice or a scholar, but we have held him as a slave, and *withheld* the instruction which he should have received—this has been the crime of the south. However, the effect of the connection which the colored man has had with the white race, has been to school him, and bring him forward to a state of intellectual maturity. But the days of his majority have arrived, and it is time to make provision for a suitable home. This is the duty, we conceive, of the stronger and guardian race.

We have no sympathy for that class that can curse the colored man in their heats, and then for political purposes cry down the inhumanity of the separationists ; and we have very little with those superficial philanthropists who would retain the colored man in this land, that he may be used as a servant. We would give him all the rights of man—but this the abolitionists will not, cannot do, in evidence of which read the following extract from “Jay’s Inquiry.”

“One of the designs falsely imputed to them, (the abolitionists,) is that of bringing about an amalgamation of colors by intermarriages. In vain have they again and again denied any such design ; in vain have their writings been searched for any recommendation of such amalgamation. No abolitionist is known to have married a negro, or to have given his child to a negro ; yet has the charge of amalgamation been repeated and re-repeated, until many no doubt honestly believe it.

“No one, in the possession of his reasoning faculties, can believe it to be the duty of white men to select black wives ; and the abolitionists have given every proof the nature of the case will admit, that they countenance no such absurdity. It has been found *expedient* to accuse it of aiming at *social* equality. He must be deeply imbued with fanaticism, or rather insanity, who contends that because a man has a dark skin he is therefore entitled to a reception in our families and a place at our tables. We all know white men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles, and can it be believed that abolitionists are willing to extend to the negroes, merely on account



of their color, courtesies and indulgences which in innumerable instances they withhold, and properly withhold, from their white fellow citizens."

Here is the *prejudice* well stated and well *defended*, by a champion of the abolition cause; to meet and obviate which the separation of the races was devised by the colonization society.

The free man of color can never be a man so long as he remains amongst white men, they will permit him to be a servant or vassal, *but no more*. About this kind of philanthropy there is a spice of selfishness that reminds us of some fine plantations owned by *very benevolent men*, but cultivated by half-starved free negroes.

But before we dismiss this point we will say one word to the man of color into whose hands this may fall; sir, you cannot change the state of things that now exists, without a revolution, you will, therefore, act unwisely to rear up a family to be menials, when you can secure for them the lot and rights of freemen by removal. But if designs of ulterior revolution prompt you to remain in this country, with such designs good men can have no sympathy. Your duty is to meet this difficulty in the spirit of peaceful compromise, and demand a removal which our wise and benevolent statesmen will grant, not in an unkind spirit, but in the spirit that actuated the ancient patriarchs Abraham and Lot.

It is time the free people of color were constituted an independent commonwealth, for they have advanced so far in the work of improvement that they are fully able to conduct the state machinery of a nation.

If it were possible to erect a respectable and truly independent commonwealth of colored men on the continent, we should do so without delay. But we fear the thing is impracticable at this time, and we fear that the future will not be more favorable, because the grasping disposition of the Anglo-American race claims the whole North American continent as the field of his future enterprise and expansion. Nor will the jealous and haughty south tolerate the erection of a commonwealth of colored men on American soil. It is with sorrow that we express our conviction that there is no rest for the independent colored man on this wide continent. The Mexican and Indian are more warlike than he, and yet they have not been able to maintain their independence, or to preserve their lands from violation; and it would require a standing army of many thousand men to protect the border of a colored nation. And again, it would ever be a sickly plant in the shade of our gigantic Anglo-American republic. It is doubtful whether it could maintain its independence as a sovereign nation. In short, it must forever be a contemptible thing in contrast with the United States.

Viewing this subject as we do in the light of religious truth, we will say, in a word, that we think Divine Providence needs the colored people of this land elsewhere, and requires not their national establishment in this continent for the purpose of carrying out His plans.

This view of the subject constitutes our moral argument:



## MORAL ARGUMENT.

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For, although statesmen may plan, and fanatics may rave, yet God reigns, and will rule and overrule all things to this end—the conversion of the world to the religion of Christ, and the overthrow of kings, thrones and nobles ; to the establishment of a pure christian republicanism, in which men shall be governed by principles and not by power, in which they shall acknowledge no king but God, and no creed but His law.

So far as the renovation of this country is concerned, the Anglo-Saxon race can effect the work without the aid of other races.

But it is not so with Africa, for it is forbidden ground to our race, else its wealth would have attracted us long ago, for Africa has long been noted for its wealth ; its mountains abound with gold, and its productions are of the most valuable character. But God has reserved that land for the colored man, and the finger of Providence points to its shores as the future home of our American colored men.

God requires our schooled, converted and enlightened colored men, that they may scatter the leaven of christianity and republicanism amongst a population of over one hundred million souls ; and already has the work been begun ; a few thousand noble-souled and independent colored men have taken their lives in their hands and gone forth on their mission, and under the fostering care of their Divine Guide, they have been instrumental in planting the foundation of a christian commonwealth on the continent of Africa, which now looms up from the dark horizon of that benighted land as a bright star of promise to the sons of Africa, and which is destined to be their polar guide through all their future struggles and stormy conflicts.

And such will be the attractive power of the young republic of Liberia, that in a few years its enemies will not be able to turn the growing stream of emigration away from it—but it will swell and spread until it has embraced the whole colored population of our land within its influence.

An African commonwealth is no longer a theory, but it is a fact. There stands Liberia! the glory of all her friends, and the standing rebuke of all her slanderers.

We must admire the wisdom of that Providence which spread a cloud over African colonization, and enshrouded the young colony in



doubts for a few a years. But now, that God has taken away the veil, we can see the reason of this strange providence. For we discover that the handful of pioneers stationed on the coast of Africa were learning how to act and govern. God was teaching them the difficult lesson of self-dependence and self-government. And, looking back over their history, we can see each successive step in this noble work, until at last they stand forth before the world graduated republicans, who have acquired such self-confidence that they can now receive thousands of raw emigrants, and guide them safely in the same difficult work of self-dependence, self-government. The foundation of their nation being settled, and their institutions being planted, they are ready to co-operate with the friends of the African in this land in the great work of separating the races.

The work of transporting the colored people of this land to a distant home can be effected, provided both races are agreed on the subject. And the western coast of Africa is the most convenient point that can be reached. A few lines of transports plying regularly between the above point and this country would make the removal easy and pleasant—much more pleasant and agreeable than a trip to California, and not attended with as much labor, danger, or expense. The sum of \$60 will carry a man from this land to Liberia, and furnish him with six months' provisions. The above sum will hardly buy the California mover a good horse. As to the labor and danger of the two trips, the balance is largely in favor of Liberia, for the constitution will suffer more wear and tear, by two fold, in a California expedition than it will in a Liberian expedition, and it cannot be doubted that twice as many die in going to California as die amongst the Liberian emigrants.

If the people will demand of the general government *that the Atlantic be bridged* with a few lines of transports, tens of thousands of free colored men will pour across to their new home. And the slave states, ashamed of their folly and oppression, will surrender their slaves into the hands of government agents, who shall set them free on the coast of Africa, and thus for a few millions of dollars, this land may be saved from the scourge of civil war, and millions of our fellow men restored to all the rights of men.

Much has been said about the impossibility of carrying off all the colored people of our land. We would to God that the day of their exodus had come; it would then be seen whether the American people have energy to effect the work. We know they can do it if they will; and that man pays but a poor compliment to the character of his race that doubts its ability on this point. The colored people of this land are not four millions in numbers; and yet four millions, if free, and at the disposal of the friends of colonization, could be transported to Liberia for a sum equal to that paid out for the Mexican war, which we suppose to be one hundred million dollars, and yet this sum has been paid, or nearly so, without our being sensibly the poorer—few men being able to tell when, where, or how they paid their part of that bill. And if we are not mistaken, the American people are ready



to vote any sum to effect a peaceful separation of the races, and will rejoice in the opportunity.

In the meantime, whilst waiting for the national exodus of the sons of Africa, a separation of interests and institutions tends most to the peace and morality of the races. Of this, the more intelligent colored persons are convinced; hence, we find them advocating separate schools, separate churches, separate neighborhoods, and, in short, separate society; and, although, they seem blind to the manifest tendency of this movement, yet it is carrying them on with irresistible power to the sure destiny of the reasonable and conservative portion of the colored race, which we fondly hope and believe will be a *separate national existence*--and which we hope will save them from the horrors of the lot that awaits those of the race who are bent on revolution.

If this last point is considered too meagre, I herewith transmit the manuscript of an address made by me to the joint meeting of the Illinois State Colonization Society and the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during the session of said conference, held in Springfield, Oct. 16th, 1854, and place it at the disposal of the committee to whom this shall be referred.

Respectfully submitted,

J. MITCHELL.







## ADDRESS.

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African colonization is a creature of the nineteenth century, and will be one of its greatest glories when all its events are committed to the record of history. As an enterprise, it has for its mainspring or motive power, christian benevolence, which aims at doing the greatest amount of good to the greatest number. We believe that as an enterprise it has been called into being by the providence of God to meet a great want in the instrumentalities required to rapidly civilize and evangelize the heathen world; and however the political economist may be disposed to regard it as a mere question of policy, the man of faith can see the hand of the Great Ruler therein moulding and directing all its movements and developments to the great end of his administration—the renovation of the earth, and the universal dominion of his Son.

It is this view of the subject that gives it all the interest with which christians regard it, and it is this consideration that enables the American Colonization Society to claim the sympathy and advocacy of the good in all sections of the land.

In advocating colonization, we advocate a thing neither new nor evil. Colonization was the refuge of the Pilgrim Fathers when they felt the pressure of superior power. It made the wilds around the strands of Plymouth vocal with prayer and praise—it has cut down your forests and peopled your wilderness—it is even now giving new states and territories to our confederacy. Nor is it claiming too much to maintain that what European colonization has done for the continent of America, African colonization will do for the continent of Africa. However, in advocating African colonization, we do not advocate a foray with brand and blade into the defenceless country of a neighbor, but we advocate a system that would quench the fire of savage war and turn the sword into an implement of husbandry. We have no crusade to preach against Turk or Pagan, but we would send the peaceful armies of a christian civilization among the habitations of cruelty to teach the arts and blessings of peace; our great object is to benefit Africa and the African by transplanting a portion of our christian civilization into that continent; to effect which, Providence has placed abundant material at our disposal, and laid a political and national necessity on us to make this transplantation.

By a singular providence, that we could not control and for which we are not responsible, a number of Africans were placed amongst the colonists of the New World as slaves; those Africans have grown in number and importance until in this day their state and relation to society has become the great question in American politics, and will continue to be the greatest question in the



councils of the state and of the church, until Providence presents a solution of its difficulties. We say, *that we*, in this age, are not responsible for the presence of those people amongst us—they were brought here by others in past years,—but we are responsible for their state and condition in this day, and that state should cause searchings of heart and resolutions to act in their behalf.

If man may reason on the providential events and circumstances which transpire in the history of a race or nation, we may, with becoming modesty, draw a few inferences from the history of the negro race which will justify the permission of negro slavery as found amongst the English and American people. We say justify the providence of God in the case, but not the cupidity of the men who founded the slave-trade and entailed the evil of negro slavery on us.

The first consideration that will justify this providence is the state of Africa, which, for centuries has rested under the judicial displeasure of Heaven, because of the gross apostacy of their fore-fathers, who, when “they knew God glorified him not as God; they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things; \* \* who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.” This is the scriptural history of Pagan blindness and superstition, and amongst others the negro race became the subjects of the divine reprobation, and their land the land of darkness.

This land is a wonderful land. For ages it has reposed in the midst of the nations, covered with a deep gloom that has proved impenetrable to the strongest rays of light; and, although encircled with the agitations and waves of civilization, which have laved her shores on every side, not one ripple has been created on the broad expanse of her interior barbarism; there, yet she lies unknowing and unknown. Nor is this want of knowledge the result of indifference on our part, for effort after effort has been made to penetrate the interior, with but partial success, for the few explorers who periled their lives were men of nerve rather than men of science, so that little reliable information has been committed to the record.

But of one thing we are assured, that Africa is a land of moral death, and her “habitations are habitations of cruelty.” Captain Forbs, of the English navy, made several explorations in 1850, and among other points he visited the kingdom of Dahomey at the time its king was preparing to water the graves of the royal ancestors with blood, in keeping with the usual custom of the country. In this annual sacrifice hundreds of human victims have been known to suffer death, and on this occasion he saw no less than twenty-three persons sacrificed in the most barbarous and cruel manner.

From the same work from which we derive the above information, we quote the following extract in regard to the trade of Dahomey in the commodity of slaves: “The king, by murderous incursions against his neighbors, seized about nine thousand victims annually. He sold about three thousand of those directly on his own account and gave the rest chiefly away to his troops who sold them; a duty of five dollars being paid on each slave exported, afforded him altogether a revenue of about three hundred thousand dollars.”

The British officer, who visited his court to persuade him to abandon the slave trade, had a serious matter to argue against. The king stated his case strongly. “The form of my government” said he, “cannot be suddenly changed without causing such a revolution as would deprive me of my throne and throw the kingdom into anarchy. I am very desirous to acquire the friendship of Eng-



land. I and my army are ready at all times to fight the queen's enemies and to do anything the English government may ask me, except to give up the slave trade. No other trade is known to my people. Palm oil, it is true, is engaging the attention of some of them, but it is a slow method of making money and brings only a very small amount of duties into my coffers. The planting of cotton and coffee has been suggested, but that is slower still; the trees have to grow and I may be in my grave before I reap any benefit from them, and what am I to do in the meantime? Who will pay my troops? Who will buy arms and clothes for them? And who will give me supplies of rum, gunpowder and cloth for my annual customs? I hold my power by the observance of the time honored customs of my forefathers. I should forfeit it and entail on myself a life full of shame and a death full of misery by neglecting them. The slave trade has been the ruling principle with my people. It is the source of their glory and their wealth; their songs celebrate their victories, and the mother lulls the child to sleep with notes of triumph over an enemy reduced to slavery. Can I by signing such a treaty change the sentiments of a whole people? *It cannot be done.*"

*Such is Africa*, and such being the general state of the customs and people of Africa, it will be unwise to question or quarrel with that providence which took a handful of the hundred million souls and placed them under the direction of the Anglo Saxon race, not for purposes of perpetual service, but for purposes of mercy, by their instruction in the arts and institutions of civilization. Where, let us ask, can he find the best school to answer his ends? In this selection will he not be regulated mainly by the purity of the national faith of the parties chosen? We think that this is the rule that determined the choice of the national seminary. Nor is it claiming too much to maintain that Protestant England and her noble coadjutor, the United States, present christian institutions and civilization of the purest type and greatest promise; and such in the order of Providence have mainly been made the instructors of those degraded strangers from Africa. In taking this position, we must not be understood as in any sense justifying the cupidity of those who founded the slave trade; but we would illustrate the wisdom of that Providence which overruled that cupidity for good.

The negro race are here in a state of pupilage; this is the mildest view we dare take of American slavery. But, while we admit this, we claim that the days of their majority are at hand, and that it is time they were *separated from us* and constituted an independent people. In this connection may we not express the hope that that modern view of slavery which, we believe, is confined to a few designing men at the south, which claims a perpetuity for slavery as a blessing and a thing that should be extended as such over lands uncursed with this blight. The time has come for us to throw up the embankments of calm opposition to the overflowing scourge, and in the language of decision to say "thus far shalt thou come but no farther." It is useless, it is unwise to parley with this question; slavery must and will be removed by the generous impulses of a free and enlightened people. The question will come home to us with more force, what will we do with the freed men? what can be done with them? We answer in a word, form them into an independent nation—aid them in removing to a separate home—a home on this continent, or a home in Africa. We believe that the providential indications are in favor of the latter, inasmuch as more good can be performed by the freed men on the latter than on this. The Anglo American race are equal to the regeneration of Africa. By their removal you transplant your own ever-living, ever-working system of christian civilization into African soil. And this christian civilization is a system of enginery wonderful in its structure and singularly powerful in its work-



ings. Its motive power is composed of mingled cupidity and benevolence ; like all things earthly it is thus composed of good and bad, but such as it is, this enginery of American civilization works with fearful force and produces great results. It receives the most heterogeneous elements from abroad and grinds them into a homogeneous mass. It receives the subjects of kings, emperors and lords deeply scared and marked with the imprint of caste, and with one sweep of its enginery effaces every mark and token of their former state and places the stamp of republicanism on them. They come with their time honored notions of religion and corrupt theology, and before they are aware of the process of transformation, going on their errors have been swept away by the friction of evangelical truth. Such are the workings of your christian civilization ; it goes on digesting nation after nation and overspreading the land, making all tribes, not positively repulsive to you, one people and one power. It is this system we propose transferring to Africa by our scheme of colonization, knowing that the good elements thereof will work for the glory of God, and the grosser ones will be held in check by his power.

It will plant witnesses of civilization and religious truth on that continent such as will confound the enemies of the African race in all lands, and will prove their capability for self-government, and their susceptibility for religious improvement.

In the work of successful colonization the Anglo-Saxon race has been honored above all other modern races. France has failed in every attempt, although such attempts have been frequently made. She first settled the Canadas, likewise Louisiana and most of the West India islands, but her colonies have given place to others ; and, if we may infer the future from the past, we presume the colonies on the northern shore of Africa, in the Barbary States, will likewise fail. *Providence wills not her success*, for successful French colonization would be an extension of French infidelity and lax morality,

Nor has Spain, once the powerful and wealthy colonizer of the New World, been more successful. It is true, there is more of God, more of divine faith in the gross religious system of Rome, as held by Spain, than in the rationalism of France ; yet there is too little of either in Spanish colonization to procure for it the favor of heaven, or that divine blessing which will cause national institutions to take root. The reverse is true of English and American colonization ; with expansive power it covers country after country, and wherever it takes permanent root grows up a witness for the Lord. God and his truth are in English and American colonization. Yes, God and his truth are in the colonization system now practiced by the American Colonization Society, and through the divine blessing we have succeeded in rearing on African soil a national witness of all that is good and valuable in our own nation.

Thirty-three years ago Liberia was founded by the labors of some of the best men of that day. Her advent was hailed with joy by the ministers of Christ and the church of God. Much faith and much confidence were exercised in regard to the final result, which faith has not been in vain, and which confidence has not been misplaced. That little colony has grown to be an independent people, covering by their jurisdiction a line of African coast seven hundred miles long, and extending their laws over two hundred and fifty thousand natives, and with their laws and rule christianity becomes extended likewise.

In a report made by Mr. McKay, a colored man, who lately visited Liberia as an agent of the Indiana State Board of Colonization, we find the following statement in regard to the character of the Liberian :

“The inhabitants are contented and happy, and while many of them are quite wealthy, they are, as a general rule, doing well. They are decidedly a



religious people ; a greater proportion of them being adherents of the different churches than is usually found in any other community. And the state of morals is superior to that of any other place I have ever been in. I heard no profane swearing among them, nor did I witness any intemperance."

Such are the people coming into power and notice, and our conclusion, drawn from this whole subject is, that Liberia is worthy of the sympathy and support of good men ; she should have their prayers for final success ; she should have their gifts to foster her in her hour of weakness ; and she should have her influence in the halls of legislation to secure national support. Until good men throughout our nation are of one mind on the subject of Liberia, men in power will not do justice to that infant republic. We therefore ask of all good men that they become of one mind—have but one purpose in regard to Liberia. And surely with great propriety may we make this request of the ministers of Christ and those who are actuated by christian principles.

Some misapprehension exists in regard to the origin of Liberian colonization and the intentions of its projectors, which we consider it our duty to correct. Shortly after the war of independence, the English found themselves encumbered with a few thousand fugitive slaves, who had ran away from their masters during the war and had joined the British army. Those accompanying the fragments of the British forces on their return to England became an encumbrance to British society, to remedy which, the colony, Sierra Leone, was formed and settled. And the actors in this case were none other than Clarkson, Sharp, and such men as are known to us as the advocates of West India emancipation. From this, it appears that England set the example twenty-five years before Liberia was founded; but like causes will produce like effects. The freed men of the United States becoming numerous under the process of the system of gradual emancipation adopted by the older states, good men in this land sought a remedy for the evils of two conflicting races by the separation and the colonization of the sufferers. Thus African colonization originated. The best of men in the United States have fostered it, and Liberia is the only nation which can claim to be the offspring of christian benevolence. Ministers of Christ dug the foundations and laid them deep with prayers and christian hope. Ministers of Christ have reared the superstructure and watched with deep solicitude as stone after stone settled to its place in the fabric.\*

Christian ministers still have prayers and gifts, and a word of advocacy for Liberia, and we pity the narrow mind, though found in a minister, whose range of thought does not comprehend the value of that republic to the cause of christianity. And we must regard the antagonism to colonization as an antagonism to christian expansion and the extension of Christ's kingdom. We maintain that no christian, no republican should oppose Liberia or the friends who are in honesty laboring to foster her.

In 1822, Monrovia, the capital of the republic, was founded on Cape Mesinada, the site of a slave factory, from which thousands of slaves had been annually shipped. From that period the progress of the settlement has been onward—onward has the freed man passed from one degree of self-improvement to another until he has become independent of the white race in all things—the people of Liberia are independent men, and the only truly independent men of the negro race on the earth.

There was a wisdom in that providence that cast a cloud over Liberia for a time and made colonization unpopular ; during that time the pioneers on the

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\*Dr. Robert Finley, Dr. Alexander and Bishop Mead, were among the projectors of the American colonization Society. And in laying the foundation of the settlement on the African coast, Rev. J. J. Miller, Rev. S. Bacon, Rev. Mr. Andrus, Rev. H. Session and the Rev. Mr. Holton, were among the martyrs to the cause of African independence and the elevation of the negro race.



coast of Africa were learning to think, act and be self-dependent ; and where they had thus learned, and the foundations of society in their young state had settled, God removed the cloud and they now stand forth before the world, a state worthy of the country which reared them. Of Liberia, America will never be ashamed.

But Liberia is yet young and feeble, and her settlements are widely scattered along a coast of seven hundred miles, yet infested with the slavers and cursed by the cupidity of the white man. The latest accounts show the slave trade to be yet active and prosperous and requiring further check, *What shall we do?* Shall we abandon Liberia? Shall we withdraw the fostering hand at the time she needs it most? Oh, no! Let us renew our efforts and be more liberal in the plans we devise for the redemption of Africa, for the suppression of the slave trade, and the spread of our American civilization. There is work enough here for a nation, and it is a work worthy of a nation's hand. Our nation, as such, should become the patron of this enterprise, and each state in the confederacy should select some point on the African coast on which to bestow labor and attention. Your sister state, Indiana, has made colonization state policy, and we ask the same favor of Illinois, not only in view of the wants of your own free people of color, but because we require your moral power and influence as a state in the halls of congress. We, therefore, respectfully suggest that plans for action be now laid down, and express the hope that they will be vigorously prosecuted.